

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 PM-03 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 ACDA-10 MBFR-02 PRS-01 NEA-06

L-02 IO-03 SAJ-01 RSR-01 /075 W
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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1182

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

USIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3829

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR PRESS AND PUBLIC

REFS: A. BONN 11241; B. BRUSSELS 4539; C. USNATO 3646;
D. STATE 158062/1

BEGIN SUMMARY: LEAKAGE TO PRESS DURING NATO MBFR CONSULTATIONS MUST BE CONSIDERED LIKELY. IT WILL EITHER BE RANDOM OR SOMEWHAT CONTROLLED. OPPORTUNITY TO CREATE PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY SUPPORT FOR REASONABLENESS OF ALLIANCE MBFR POSITIONS SHOULD NOT BE WASTED. WE SHOULD AVOID LARGE WP PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE AT EARLY MBFR STAGE. FOR THESE REASONS, DESIRABILITY OF A CONTROLLED BUT EXPANDED PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC RELEASE OF MBFR INFORMATION IS INDICATED.

ACTION REQUESTED: CONSIDERATION OF COORDINATED NATO, US, AND ALLIED PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAMS ON SEVERAL ASPECTS OF MBFR WHICH ARE PRESENTLY CLASSIFIED. END SUMMARY.

1. RECENT LEAK TO NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE OF SO-CALLED GERMAN-DUTCH BELGIAN MBFR PROPOSALS UNDERSCORES PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES AS WORK PROGRESSES ON DEVELOPING COMMON MBFR POSITIONS AMONG
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NATO ALLIES. INTENSE PRESS INTEREST IN MBFR CONSULTATIONS HERE, PLUS LARGE AMOUNT OF DISCUSSION AND SPECULATION WHICH HAS ALREADY RUN IN PRESS, MAKE IT UNLIKELY THAT MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WILL REMAIN FULLY CONFIDENTIAL. THE UNCONTROLLED AND FRAGMENTARY

LEAKING OF RANDOM ELEMENTS OF DEVELOPING ALLIANCE POSITIONS WOULD LARGELY DISSIPATE EXPECTED BENEFITS FROM HAVING PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY CIRCLES WELL INFORMED AND CONVINCED OF THE GOOD SENSE OF ALLIED PROPOSALS. SOVIETS MAY PUT FORWARD EARLY REDUCTION PROPOSALS, OR THEY MAY PERMIT PRESS PREVIEWS OF SELECTED PARTS OF SOVIET POSITIONS. THEY WILL DESIGN SUCH RELEASES AND OTHER WP PRESS ACTIVITIES TO GAIN PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE. WESTERN INTEREST IN PREVENTING SUCH A DISADVANTAGE AT EARLY STAGE THROUGH RANDOM LEAKAGE INDICATES NEED FOR US TO CONSIDER QUESTION OF PROGRAM OF CONTROLLED BUT EXPANDED RELEASE OF SELECTED PARTS OF DEVELOPING WESTERN MBFR POSITIONS.

2. OUR OBJECTIVE IN THIS EFFORT SHOULD BE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES SEEK TO CREATE A NEW AND MORE STABLE SITUATION THROUGH REDUCTIONS LEADING TO LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES AND TO MOVE IN DIRECTION OF SYMMETRY OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES REMAINING IN CENTRAL EUROPE AFTER REDUCTION.

3. TIMING. BY MID OR LATE SEPTEMBER WE SHOULD HAVE GOOD PICTURE OF ALLIANCE POSITIONS AND NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES. THIS IS POINT AT WHICH LEAKS ARE MOST LIKELY, AND WOULD BE GOOD OCCASION TO BEGIN EXPOSING PRINCIPLES OF ALLIANCE MBFR THINKING. SOME TIME WILL BE NECESSARY BEFORE OCTOBER 30 FOR EDUCATION OF JOURNALISTS WHO WILL BE COVERING MBFR OPENING IN VIENNA. AND EDUCATING OF PUBLIC AND PRESS MUST NOT GET AHEAD OF COMMUNICATION OF SAME MATERIAL IN CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFINGS. THEREFORE, SEPTEMBER WOULD NOT BE TOO EARLY TO LAUNCH COORDINATED EFFORT FOR BROADER UNDERSTANDING OF WESTERN POSITIONS. TELLING JOURNALISTS SOON THAT WE WILL PROBABLY BE ABLE TO DISCUSS MBFR QUESTIONS MORE FREELY IN LATE SEPTEMBER COULD REDUCE PRESSURES AND LIKELIHOOD OF LEAKS.

4. COORDINATION. A BROAD INFORMATION PROGRAM IN WASHINGTON, DIRECTED AT CONGRESS AND INFORMED PUBLIC OPINION, SHOULD BE COORDINATED, IN ADVANCE, WITH GENERAL ALLIANCE AGREEMENT ON MATERIAL TO BE EXPOSED AND POINTS TO BE MADE. IDEALLY, ALLIED GOVERNMENTS WOULD LAUNCH SIMILAR INFORMATION PROGRAMS
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SIMULTANEOUSLY IN OTHER NATO CAPITALS. BECAUSE ALLIES ARE ACCUSTOMED TO THINKING OF MBFR AS CONFIDENTIAL TOPIC, THEY WILL NEED SOME TIME TO CONSIDER CONTROLLED RELEASE OF MBFR INFORMATION.

5. FORMAT. WHILE SUCH CONSIDERATIONS COULD LEAD TO A NATO PUBLICATION OR OTHER PUBLIC INFORMATION ACTIVITIES, THE U.S. MAIN EVENT HERE COULD BE AN INFORMAL PRESS BACKGROUNDER FOR IMPORTANT JOURNALISTS COVERING MBFR. THIS SESSION, IN SEPTEMBER, COULD KICK OFF EXTENSIVE BACKGROUNDING BY USNATO PUBLIC AFFAIRS SECTION.

6. SUBSTANCE. WE SUGGEST THAT THE FOLLOWING AREAS CAN RECEIVE

SOME PUBLIC DISCUSSION WHICH WILL NOT COMPROMISE MBFR
NEGOTIATIONS AND WILL HAVE CLEAR BENEFIT IN ENCOURAGING PUBLIC
SUPPORT FOR NATO POSITIONS:

A. PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES. ALLIED SPOKESMEN SHOULD SPECIFY
THAT A PRINCIPAL ALLIED AIM IS TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF MILITARY
CONFRONTATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND THUS TO TEST MOSCOW AND WP
WILLINGNESS TO ADDRESS CONCRETE SECURITY ISSUES, IN INTEREST
OF PROMOTING GENUINE DETENTE. AT SAME TIME, WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE
DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN MILITARY CAPABILITY TO FULFILL
AGREED NATO STRATEGY OF FORWARD DEFENSE, FLEXIBLE RESPONSE
AND NUCLEAR DETERRENCE.

B. CONCEPT OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY. WE SHOULD FULLY EXPLORE
AND EXPLAIN CONCEPT OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY TO DISPEL ILLUSION
THAT DETENTE ATMOSPHERE COULD COMPENSATE FOR WORSENERD ALLIED
DEFENSE POSTURE; TO REFUTE SUGGESTIONS THAT MBFR IS FIRST STEP
IN DISMANTLING OF NATO COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM; AND TO
SUGGEST THAT MAINTENANCE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY WILL REQUIRE
MITIGATION OF ASYMMETRIES IN EUROPEAN MILITARY BALANCE.

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L-02 IO-03 SAJ-01 RSR-01 /075 W
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R 151240Z AUG 73

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3829

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REFS: A. BONN 11241; B. BRUSSELS 4539; C. USNATO 3646;
D. STATE 158062/1

C. NEED FOR SYMMETRY OF RESULTS. WE SHOULD FULLY EXPLAIN
IMBALANCES IN CURRENT SITUATION TO CREATE UNDERSTANDING FOR
ALLIANCE EFFORT TO ACHIEVE SYMMETRY OF RESULTS OF ANY FORCE
REDUCTIONS. EARLY UNDERSTANDING OF THIS PRINCIPLE IS DESIRABLE
BEFORE WP SPOKESMEN BEGIN FEIGNING SURPRISE AND OUTRAGE AT
ASYMMETRY OF ALLIANCE REDUCTION PROPOSALS. IN DISCUSSING

PRINCIPLE OF SYMMETRY OF RESULTING FORCES, WE WOULD BE SUGGESTING, IN GENERAL WAY, SHAPE OF INITIAL WESTERN MBFR PROPOSALS.

D. CONSTRAINTS AND VERIFICATION. UNDERSTANDING OF THESE PROBLEMS WILL SERVE TO SHOW THAT WESTERN ATTENTION TO THEM DOES NOT REPRESENT STALLING.

E. ROLE OF NATO. WITH APPROPRIATE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF OUR AGREEMENT THAT MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOT BLOC-TO-BLOC NEGOTIATIONS, SPOKESMEN SHOULD FULLY AND ACCURATELY PORTRAY NATO ROLE. THIS WILL HELP INDIVIDUAL ALLIED COUNTRIES GAIN SUPPORT FOR THEIR MBFR POSITIONS AND IS CRITICAL TO SUPPORT CONFIDENTIAL

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OF NATO IN PARLIAMENTS AND PUBLIC DURING PERIOD OF THICK DETENTE ATMOSPHERE.

F. SELECTION OF UNITS FOR REDUCTION. QUESTION OF WHAT COUNTRIES SHOULD REDUCE WHAT MILITARY UNITS HAS HIGH POTENTIAL FOR PUBLIC CONTROVERSY. WP WILL CERTAINLY FAN SUCH CONTROVERSY. WE SHOULD EXPLAIN WIDELY ALLIANCE REASONING ON QUESTION OF US VERSUS NON-US REDUCTIONS, WITH BACKGROUNDING ON ALLIANCE DESIRE FOR REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL OFFENSIVE THREAT POSED BY CONCENTRATION OF SOVIET TANKS IN CENTRAL EUROPE: IT'S NOT THE POLISH ARMY WE'RE WORRIED ABOUT. ALL DISCUSSIONS OF THESE QUESTIONS SHOULD CONVEY CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT NO EUROPEAN COUNTRY IS SINGLED OUT FOR SPECIAL TREATMENT, AND THAT OUR APPROACH COMPREHENDS SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON NON-US FORCES.

G. MBFR COMPLEXITIES. IMPORTANT TO THE CREATION OF REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE PACE OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE EXPOSURE OF MANY OF THE COMPLEXITIES WHICH NEGOTIATORS MUST CONSIDER, E.G., PROBLEMS OF DEPLOYMENT AND CONCENTRATION OF FORCES AND EQUIPMENT; BASIC COMPLICATION OF MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS (AS COMPARED TO, E.G., BILATERAL SALT); EVALUATION OF UNLIKE UNITS AND WEAPONS; DIFFICULTY OF AVOIDING DESTABILIZING MULTI-NATION COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM; LIMITATIONS ON TYPES OF REDUCTIONS CAUSED BY LIMITATIONS ON VERIFICATION POSSIBILITIES; CONTROLS ON POST-MBFR FORCE LEVEL CHANGES, PREVENTIONS OF WORSENERD SITUATION ON FLANKS AS RESULT OF REDUCTIONS IN CENTER, ETC.

H. NEGOTIATING POSTURE. WE SHOULD DESCRIBE OUR APPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS IN TERMS OF THE ADVANCING OF SUGGESTED COMPONENTS OF A NEGOTIATING PROGRAM. ALLIANCE SHOULD DRAMATIZE POSTURE OF SINCERITY, REASONABLENESS AND SENSE OF PURPOSE TO PREVENT ANY SUGGESTIONS THAT WEST IS SIMPLY BUYING TIME OR, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS PRESENTING WP WITH AN ULTIMATUM OR A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT PROPOSITION.

7. AREAS EXCLUDED FROM PUBLIC DISCUSSION. WE ARE NOT SUGGESTING

THE RELEASE OF INFORMATION ABOUT SPECIFIC WESTERN PROPOSALS,
NUMBERS INVOLVED IN SUCH PROPOSALS, LIMITATIONS ON SCOPE OF MBFR
(EXCEPT FOR STATEMENT THAT DISMANTLING OF NATO COLLECTIVE
SECURITY SYSTEM IS NOT ENVISAGED) OR CONTEMPLATED WESTERN
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PROPOSALS ON SUCH NEGOTIABLE QUESTIONS AS CONSTRAINTS,
VERIFICATION OR FORCE LIMITATION AGREEMENTS.

8. ACTION REQUESTED. REQUEST DEPARTMENT CONSIDERATION OF
BROAD - NATO WIDE - PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAM, BEGINNING IN
SEPTEMBER, TO INFORM PUBLIC, PARLIAMENTS AND PRESS
ABOUT ALLIANCE THINKING ON MBFR. FURTHER REQUEST GUIDANCE
PERMITTING MISSION TO CONSULT WITH ALLIES ON INFORMATION
ACTIVITIES BY ALLIANCE AND IN CAPITALS, BASED ON FACTORS
AND SUGGESTIONS NOTED ABOVE, DURING DISCUSSION HERE OF ALLIED
POSITION. FURTHER REQUEST PERMISSION TO INFORM JOURNALISTS
THAT WE ANTICIPATE BEING ABLE TO SAY MORE SOON.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 02 APR 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: hilburpw
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO03829
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730868/abqcebpp.tel
Line Count: 240
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: A. BONN 11241; B. BRUSSELS 4539; C. USNATO 3646; D. STATE 158062/1
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: hilburpw
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14-Aug-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <19-Sep-2001 by hilburpw>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR PRESS AND PUBLIC
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE INFO SECDEF
USIA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005